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decreases the harvests decline. However, these are secondary factors in abandonment of caingins, according to the people. The average caingin is not cultivated long enough to permit the soil to deteriorate to the point where yields are uneconomic.

The associated rites of caingin planting are like those used in the lowland rice and corn fields and will be discussed later. One caingin farmer said he never had held a planting ceremony until one year his corn was ruined by dalabdab, a disease that turns the corn leaves variegated colors. He harvested no corn, so the following year he began a planting rite suggested by friends.

Caingin Pests

Wild pigs and monkeys are a serious problem for most caingin farmers. Many caingins are surrounded with [417] sturdy bamboo fences that take considerable time to build to keep out the marauding pigs. Flimsy "watch houses" frequently are built in the caingins; the cultivator or a member of his family then stays to protect the crop from the pigs and monkeys. There are no magical rites to protect a caingin from wild pigs. One informant laughingly replied when questioned about this matter that the "best way to protect your caingin from wild pigs is to use a shot-gun." Unfortunately, few farmers own guns.

Some caingins have a wild pig trap called balatki. 241 224 A small opening is made in the fence surrounding the caingin and a taut vine is stretched across the entrance.

When the pig tries to pass through the opening into the caingin it trips the vine and releases an attached bamboo spear. 241 224

Caingin Crop Yields (Rice and Corn)

In 1951 the Siaton caingin rice harvest began in September. During October I noticed large quantities of palay drying on mats in the poblacion. This, said the owners, came "from the caingins in the mountains." A considerable number of people from the barrios and the poblacion go to the caingins to assist in the harvest. The following interview with a male informant from Naga tells of these forages to caingins and also of the importance caingins sometimes have in the food gathering activities of the lowland barriofolk. 241 221

> When the Japs left we were happy. After they left we went to the mountains to look for food like bananas and camotes. When the hot season comes the owners of the caingins let us clear the caingins of the camotes that remain. They had dug for camotes before but did not get all of them. We had to clean the entire caingin of vines and we got all the camotes we found in doing this. Sometimes we bartered salt for bananas. Sometimes we were given bananas for clearing the caingins. Sometimes caingin owners gave us two gantas [one cavan equals twenty-five gantas] of corn a day for clearing their caingins. Sometimes many people go especially if they hear of a caingin which has plenty of camotes left. Men, women and children go. It does not take long to clean one caingin. We do not go to the mountains during the rainy season.
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> Many people go to harvest upland rice. We did not go because the children could not reach the place--it is very far. [The informant is referring to 1951]. The places are north of Giliga-on, called Bantolinao, and Cmaleg and Bokgay. We sometimes dig camotes and cassava. There are owners of caingins who will let the people dig and slice [to dry] cassava. Sometimes we will get one-third

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are regarded as inferior to their staples, except for fruits and mushrooms that are considered delicacies. Food gathering activities in Caticugan reflect inadequate harvests or small fields. If the fields' harvests and sizes were increased and the people less dependent on a somewhat erratically distributed precipitation, food gathering would almost entirely disappear. Under normal conditions only a minority of families regularly collect food each year; a poor corn harvest, however, increases considerably the number of collectors.

WILD PIG HUNTING AND ASSOCIATED RITES

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Besides being the most destructive wild animal in the Siaton River valley, the wild pig is the only animal hunted by the barriofolk, save for a few wild birds and a large iguana-type lizard, ibid. There are no monkeys in Caticugan and the men do not purposely hunt them, although they eat the meat if available. In the past wild deer were hunted near Caticugan with the bow and arrow, but both the deer and the bow and arrow have vanished. Many men hunt wild pigs with homemade spears. It is said in Caticugan that no one has ever owned a gun.

Wild pigs occur in the hills and mountains west and north of Caticugan. One young man killed twelve large pigs, "not counting the little ones," within several months; another man in Barrio Canaway killed twenty-three pigs in nine months. A noted hunter of Naga was said to have killed as many as fifty wild pigs in a year. Though the meat of the wild pig is stringy and tough, it is a not

unwelcome addition to the generally meatless diet of the barriofolk.[2]

Hunting wild pig is a strenuous, often dangerous, task. One may trot behind barking dogs for hours, up and down hills, across ravines, through tangled undergrowth and knife-like dry grass. When the exhausted pig is cornered it is vicious. Now and then a hunter is badly mauled and frequently dogs are killed by a wounded pig. There are stories of hunters killed by a wild boar (tangwan) but such tragedies are rare.[3] The following incident describes a hunt that occurred in the vicinity of Barrio Cahangahan.

> One time my brother and I and two other people went out hunting wild pigs. Our dogs found a scent of a wild pig and the chase began. After two hours of chasing the tangwan that had badly

[2]Every Christmas season the young people of Caticugan carol for the residents of the barrio and the poblacion. The donations of money or food they receive are used for a party. One group of fourteen young men in 1952 decided instead of contributing chickens for the party to hunt wild pigs and donate whatever meat they killed. The group, with twenty-two dogs, was able to kill, in one morning, four pigs that each weighed from thirty to forty-five pounds.

[3]I never participated in a wild pig hunt. Several times I was invited to accompany a group on a hunt but refused on the basis that a previous operation (I exhibited my scar!) made it impossible for me to trot after the dogs for hours. This was not true but I was rather certain I could not maintain the necessary pace for a hunt. I did not wish to endanger my position among the young men by becoming an object of humorous ridicule. Gathering information on the hunting of wild pigs was not difficult except for the data on the hood--which I would not have been permitted, most likely, to witness had I participated in a hunt.

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wounded one of our dogs we cornered the tired boar. The first to arrive at the place where the dogs had cornered the boar was my brother who thrust his spear at it. Unfortunately, his spear was dull so it glanced off the boar's hide, and my brother was bitten in the back of the leg. My dogs, sensing that my brother's life was in danger, rushed the boar which killed another dog. The boar was able to escape because we had to tend my wounded brother.

The boar, now very tired and thirsty, went down into the valley to seek some water. But the rest of my dogs were still after him. In the valley, there was a guhang tree where a group of men were drinking. The boar ran in the direction of this group of men. One of the men in the group seeing the boar coming shouted and advised the rest to seek shelter. But one man who was no longer sober boasted he could kill the tusk boar with his bolo. He met the on-charging boar and stabbed it with his bolo. But his bolo was for weeding purposes and was very dull. The boar was not killed and attacked the man; one of his legs was deeply lacerated from the heel to his thigh. He was also wounded on both arms. The rest of his companions did not dare to help him. All that the men could do was to shout at the boar. I saved the life of this man by my timely arrival and killed the boar on the spot.

While hunting wild pigs with a spear is dangerous, the meat is often needed and there is a certain excitement in starting off early in the morning with one's friends and a yapping pack of dogs.

A ceremony, called bood, is connected with the hunting of wild pigs, although not all hunters observe it.[4] Those who do not practice the bood explain

[4]The bood was said by the oldest inhabitant of Catiogan (reported to be "over ninety years") and several other aged informants originally to have had two purposes. First, the ceremony served as "rent" to the spirits for the land the people cultivated. Second, the bood made the animals living on the land "tame" and placated their "spirit owners" for their losses during the hunt. Today, however, the bood is made only for hunting wild pigs. It is unnecessary to hold a bood for the lowland fields since there are no wild pigs to "tame" or hunt on the land. Possibly the dulot may be a modified form of the bood.

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that they (1) do not believe in it ("I trust to my luck, my dogs and God"); (2) do not know how to conduct the bood; or (3) are afraid of a mistake that might cause them trouble. One informant from Pinac-an said:

> I do not practice the bood. I just depend on my luck. The reason why I do not practice this bood is because I do not know how the old people do it. And besides I am afraid to try because if one makes a mistake in what he says during the bood all his dogs die.

While many hunters in Caticugan do not hold the bood, the men who hunt most frequently and are noted for skill normally practice the bood. However, the bood appears to be a dying custom in Caticugan, due to disappear within several generations. [178]

A bood is held for every wild pig killed, usually after the hunt in a participant's house. An annual bood is held in a secluded spot known only to the participants. One informant in Barrio Caticugan reported:

> The reason why they [the hunters] do it [bood] secretly is because they do not want other hunters to discover their place, even by accident. If their bood place is found by another hunter he will be lucky in his future hunts by feeding his dogs with the food found on the bamboo table used in the offering to the spirits. [Evidently the food is not eaten but remains on the abandoned table.] Dogs that eat this food will become successful in finding wild pig scents and brave in fighting them; they will never be hurt. But if only the dogs, and not the hunter, discover the bood place--or just happen to pass it--the dogs will become tired as if they are sick. This happened to my dogs once. The men who made the bood in the place discovered will become unlucky in their hunts and their dogs will get sick and eventually die. One time I requested Tonio [a hunter in Caticugan] not to mention anything that would make me unlucky or hurt my dogs. Tonio assured me that he was not selfish enough to do that in his bood.

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The purposes of the annual bood are: (1) to ensure an easy kill; (2) to protect hunters and dogs from injury; (3) to placate or thank the spirits who might be angered because the pigs lived in their territory; and (4) to hex any other hunters or dogs that hunt wild pigs in the locality delimited during the bood. The implicit assumption is that the spirits own the animals living in their vicinity.

One hunter made his bood in the area where he planned to seek wild pigs. Sometimes the bood may be made "in places where the pigs disappear easily like the headwaters of creeks or woody tangled places"--localities where the spirits are most likely to live. Others state that the bood frequently is made on a knoll of a hill to facilitate delimitation of the locality to be hunted. The bood offering consists of cooked rice, binaluksan, puso, bingka, coconut tuba and sometimes Mallorca.

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The hunter holding the bood may say, for example; "I (We) plan to hunt from this big tree to the top of that hill, down in the valley to that creek, etc." If a stranger should try to hunt in this delimited region he is believed to endanger himself and his dogs. "His dogs will get hurt or they will get sick slowly, becoming thin, not wanting to bark any more and finally they die." After the locality is delimited the hunter will invite all the spirits (naming the places where they are supposed to live, sometimes in distant localities), to come and eat the food offering. The hunter may say, according to one informant:

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> I am doing this [making the bood] because I have five dogs for hunting. I hope I can surely catch a wild pig because I have done this. Do not be selfish because I have done these things already. If there are other hunters who enter this area I ask you do not give it [pigs] to them. I hope also that their dogs will be hurt.

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One of the most noted boar hunters and expert in the bood (I was always referred to him when inquiring about the practice), who lived in Naga, stated:

> When I used to hunt wild pigs I always performed a yearly bood. But since my wife died I no longer hunt because there is no one to care for my dogs while I work in the fields. I made my yearly bood in the mountains where nobody knew the place except myself. I used a live chicken and other food for the offering. The feathers of the chicken were like those I saw in my dreams. You see when you are familiar with these practices the taglogal [another name for encangtos] will let you dream and the following day you will make the bood.

Some hunters hold a bood for a premicias (thanksgiving) for every pig killed. This bood is often held because during the annual bood the hunter promised to make an offering for every pig killed. The food offered is similar to all offerings made to spirits except that the head, liver, heart and tail of each pig killed is added, cooked without any seasoning. One hunter said this was done because these parts "symbolize the whole pig." If a hunter killed three pigs, then he would use the three heads, livers, hearts, and tails. The offering is made under the house; the food is placed on a table. The hunter invites the spirits to come from various localities, shakes the table vigorously, and thanks them for the kill. Then the parts of the pig are taken to the kitchen, recooked with seasoning, and eaten by the hunter's family.

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For the hunt, iron spear points (ohas or silab) are purchased in the poblacion for about one dollar and fifty cents. The points are eleven to twelve inches long and about two to three inches wide. They are attached to wooden handles (tugdanan) four or five feet long. The spear point is fixed to the handle with rattan wrapping; the base of the point has a sharp prong that is driven into the handle's top. Sometimes brass tubing (pekit) is put around the handle where the spear point is attached; a sharp iron point (alimayo) may be fixed to the handle's base. Usually a scabbard (sakob) is made to cover the point when the spear (bankaw) is stored; two thin pieces of wood, the general shape of the point, are bound together with rattan or small strips of tin. (See Plate XXXII.)[1]

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Frequently wild pigs are hunted by groups of three to five men. Some like to hunt alone; this means, normally, that there is no sharing of the kill. The dogs go ahead of the hunters, sniffing the ground until the scent of a wild pig is discovered. Then they run after the pig wildly barking. The hunters trot behind the dogs, yelling words of encouragement. If the hunters fail to shout constantly, or stay close enough to the dogs so their voices can be heard, the dogs become discouraged and abandon the chase. Such a chase may continue for several hours until a pig is cornered and killed or the scent lost.

1 [See p. 509, Cat. 411 + 116 -- Analysis]

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When the exhausted pig is cornered, it will fight the barking dogs that try to surround the frightened beast. The hunters then spear the pig--a dangerous method of killing the animal; if a small pig is cornered the dogs kill the animal. The most effective place to spear a wild pig is behind the animal's shoulder; sometimes, however, it takes many thrusts to kill a large boar. One informant said it took twenty-three jabs of his spear to kill one boar he cornered while hunting alone. Another hunter had a special anting-anting (amulet) for hunting wild pigs, a spear in which a fragment of a boar's tusk had been embedded during a previous hunt. He was reported to be a lucky hunter for awhile but later was badly mauled by a wounded boar.

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One noted hunter of Caticugan occasionally fed his dogs food mixed with the powdered bark of the hangot tree. Hangot bark "makes the dogs unusually sensitive to the wild pigs' scents and increases their courage." This hunter could not recognize the hangot tree but he bartered two chickens for some bark from a resident of Sta. Catalina municipality.

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Hunters state that when a wild pig is lost it often disappears mysteriously near or under a dalakit tree (Ficus pavapa Blanco; also known as balete); the spirits are believed to inhabit this tree. Some hunters state this is how the spirits protect "their" pigs.

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The dogs receive little special training. When young they are taken on hunts with older, more experienced dogs and learn the necessary skills. One major purpose for having a dog, besides serving as a protector of the barrio residence, is to hunt pigs. One informant said: "The credit for all my successful hunts belongs to my dogs. This is why I always take good care of my dogs. I feed them well, just like my own children."[5]

The best places to hunt wild pigs are the cogon grass regions, around springs, or in areas where there are large boulders or many hollow logs where the pigs live. Oracion's Magahat informants said another place to hunt pigs was the creeks where they liked to wallow. Localities where the bangkal (Naucles junghuhnii (Miq.) Merr.) trees grow are said to be favorite haunts of wild pigs, for they eat the dropped fruit of this tree. A hunter of Barrio Canaway thought the best place to hunt wild pigs is near Barrio Calanan, but that there were many good sites as close as Sitio Balayagolang (Barrio Canaway). (See Plate XX, page 157.)

While wild pigs are hunted all year, hunting is done mostly during the dry season when traveling is easier in the hills and mountains. This is also the time when the cogon grass is burned and "it is easier for the dogs

[5]Some said if the table used in making an annual bood was discovered, the hunter would take a piece of the bamboo "and smoke his dogs." This would make the dogs brave and inordinately skillful in finding a wild pig scent.

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to find and follow the wild pigs." Some people believe that the wild pigs do not run as fast or as far as normal on Holy Friday for "they are then very grave." This is one of a number of beliefs associated with Holy Week in Caticugan.

When the pig is killed, division of the animal may be made in various ways. Apparently the most common division is one-half to the man who kills the pig, the remainder divided equally among the other hunters. If only one hunter has dogs, he receives two-thirds of the pig he kills and others share the remaining one-third. Some hunters said that if the "main hunter" (the one who held the annual bood) kills the pig he receives three-fourths and the others receive equal parts of the remainder. If another member of the group kills the pig, the "main hunter" receives only one-half, the man killing the pig one-fourth, and the remainder to the other members of the party. If the person who kills the pig is not a member of the hunting group he receives one-fourth of the animal, the "main hunter" one-half, and the remainder is divided among the rest. For example, a pursued boar might pass through a caingin where a man was watching his crops; if he killed the pig, one-fourth would be given to him. The head, liver, heart and tail always are given to the man who kills the pig.

Sometimes men who hunt without dogs are given one-half; or the meat may be divided according to the dogs they have on the hunt. The division is not standardized

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except for the share of the person who kills the pig, if he is not a member of the hunt.[6] One hunter said that since the members of a party are usually friends he gives them one-half of a pig he kills whether they have dogs or not. One man in Caticugan complained that he was not given a fair share of one wild pig because the other hunter took three-fourths of the animal (he had three dogs in the chase) while my informant received only one-fourth yet he had two dogs along on the hunt. Sometimes, however, if the hunting group is composed of four or five men and the "main hunter" kills the pig (supposedly meriting three-fourths) "he usually shares some with his friends," i.e., gives them more than would be their customary share under the circumstances.

A young man who lives in Barrio Canaway said that one day he was near the river when a pursued boar appeared, exhausted from the chase. He had a .22 rifle and shot the pig. While he could have taken the animal easily--"I could not even hear the dogs barking"--"I did not because I might have become sick." The bood has this practical advantage; those who believe in its efficacy know the holder of the bood requests the spirits to make sick anyone who illegally takes their kill.

Later the hunting party arrived and the young man was given one-fourth of the boar. He reported that then a brief ceremony was held by the river. The "main hunter"

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[6] This is also true for the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., p. 66.

seared the hair from the pig, butchered and cleaned it. 224 As he removed the hair from the pig he said softly: "Thanks [speaking to the spirits] for this boar. I hope the next time we hunt we can get a bigger one and it will not be so difficult to kill." He let the dogs drink some of the pig's blood from his cupped hands and eat pieces of the intestines for them to eat. Hunting dogs usually get the pig's intestines as their share. Some hunters, however, said "if you really like the intestines you keep some for yourself."[7]

Hunting wild pigs by Caticugan men does not furnish most families with sizable quantities of meat. Only 224 262 twice during my residence did I see slaughtered wild pigs in barrio kitchens. Frequently I was invited to eat with the barriofolk yet I was never served wild pig. There are a few men who do spend considerable time during the dry season hunting wild pigs; for the majority, however, hunting wild pigs is only an occasional activity. It is my opinion that a few men (perhaps one in Caticugan) specialize in hunting wild pigs, selling or bartering the meat for staples. The young men usually hunt for the enjoyment they receive from the chase.

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[7] Oracion's account of wild pig hunting among the Magahats does not mention any ceremony similar to the bood. However, when a pig is killed its liver is removed on the spot, chopped into small pieces and scattered on the ground. "This is his offering to the spirits." Oracion, on. cit., p. 67.

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Farther north there are said to be a considerable number of manok ihalas (Red Jungle Fowl: Gallus gallus gallus, Linne.) that the barriofolk hunt; some are merely domesticated fowl that have gone wild. There were no wild chickens in Catieugan and the men did not hunt for them. While the trapping of wild birds is done by both sexes, it is often the sport of young boys. Wild birds furnish a very small part of the diet of only a few families in Catieugan.

LIZARDS

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One large lizard (ibid) is hunted by some barriofolk although most of them hunt ibid only in periods of acute food shortage. This lizard is usually found in bamboo groves or in the kamansilis trees near the river; it is hunted with the blow-gun, trapped with grated coconut meat, or run down by dogs. Large ibid are said to weigh as much as 10 pounds. The meat, boiled in coconut "milk," "tastes like chicken." Another large lizard (halo) found in the locality is not eaten.

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COLLECTING WILD HONEY

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Once the hives of wild honey bees (potyakan) were hunted for their honey. Few wild beehives are found today in Catieugan or environs. When the hives are found accidentally, the honey is collected; the people are fond of it. One informant said that when he was a young man